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American Blacks NK4

[For a discussion of the development of Denmark Vesey's conspiracy and insurrection in South Carolina, see the NN23 Sea Islanders file, 3: Creel, Category 175, pp. 150-166.]

3: Creel

NN23 Sea Islanders NN23

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[For a discussion of the development of Denmark Vesey's conspiracy and insurrection in South Carolina, see Category 175, pp. 150-166.]

NN23 Sea Islanders NN23 South Carolina

I. GULLAH ROOTS

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1937, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; David Thorpe to John Mooney, January 25, 1863, Thorpe Series, James McBride Dubbs Papers, SHC.

18. Charles Sumner to Nina Hartshorn, July 7, 1862, Penn School Papers, vol. 4 SHC. See also Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), 218-19; Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859), I: 244-45; SCA, July 14, 1863 and December 29, 1843; Allen Diary, 18, 127-28, 151-54.

19. For an extensive bibliography on works about Gullahs and the need for more modern approaches, see Mary A. Twining, "Sources in the Folklore and Folklife of the Sea Islands," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 39 (1975): 135-50; In 1980 the *Journal of Black Studies* devoted an entire issue to Sea Island culture. Twining and Baird, eds., *Journal of Black Studies*; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, passim; Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), passim.

20. Harriot Pinckney Rutledge to Edward Rutledge, August 5, 1822, Pinckney Papers, SCHS; James Hamilton, *Negro Plot* (Charleston: Joseph W. Ingraham, 1822), 291; Benjamin Elliott, "To Our Northern Brethren," quoted in Edwin C. Holland, *A Refutation of the Columbus Circular against the Southern and Western States, Respecting the Institution and Existence of Slavery among Them* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1822), 79; Lionel Kennedy and Thomas Parker, *The Trial Record of Denmark Vesey*, Intro. by John Oliver Killens (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970; repr. from 1822 ed. and published under title: *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes*), 13-14, 76-79; F. A. Mood, *Methodism in Charleston* (Nashville: E. Stevenson and J. E. Evans, 1856), 130-31; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 72-76; Susan Markey Fickling, "Slave Conversion in South Carolina, 1830-1860" (M. A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1924), 16-17; Thomas Bennett to Richard Furman, 1822, Furman Papers, SCL; Henry Irving Tragle, *The Southampton Slave Revolt of 1831: A Compilation of Source Materials* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971); Rev. Leroy F. Besty, *Work of South Carolina Methodism Among the Slaves: An Address Delivered Before the Historical Society of the South Carolina Conference*, November 26, 1901, HSSCC, 9-10; C. C. Pinckney to William Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; Luther Porter Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830-1860," *Journal of Negro History* 15 (1930): 79-79.

21. Charles C. Pinckney, *An Address Delivered in Charleston Before the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, At Its Annual Meeting, 18th August, 1829* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1829), passim; James O. Andrew, "The Southern Slave Population," *MMQR* 13 (1831): 315-17; Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1842 ed.), 16-18; 80; *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, May 13-15, 1845 on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes* (Charleston: B. Jenkins, 1845), passim; Besty, *Work of South Carolina Methodism*, 13-34, HSSCC; Report of the Board of Managers of the South Carolina Missionary Society, in SCA, January 3, 1851.

I. Gullah Roots

1. James Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of Our Fathers: A Study of the Atlantic Slave Traders, 1441-1807* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 38; Daniel Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 34-36; Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade: Provincial History, 1450-1850*,

199 native state to separate South Carolinians from one another on the basis of skin and hair. Blacks and whites could not legally associate except in the sanctioned roles of subordinate and superior. Not only were most black citizens disfranchised at the polls, blacks were systematically separated from whites in schools, in jobs, and in public accommodations. The policy was called segregation, or Jim Crow, and it was very thoroughgoing. Behind the mask of civility, our harsh racial caste system branded all black South Carolinians as inferior.

Segregation was characterized by two sets of almost everything: there was one set of churches, stores, funeral homes, and drinking fountains for black Carolinians and another for white Carolinians. Black students were relegated to Jim Crow schools, black travelers to the back of the Jim Crow bus, and black moviegoers to the Jim Crow balcony. And there were separate neighborhoods for blacks and whites. It was not difficult to tell which were which: the pavement ended where the black neighborhoods began. But not everything came in pairs. Some things, such as parks, libraries, and swimming pools, were rarely available to black Carolinians at all.

Anyone could tell that the segregation laws were unconstitutional on their face: they violated the constitutional requirement that states not deny the equal protection of the laws to any citizen. But the system of segregation was even more subtly entrenched in South Carolina law and practice than that. It was also characterized by discriminatory enforcement of other laws that were not in themselves discriminatory. And social services were administered on a discriminatory basis. As a result, black Carolinians had less than half the chance of finishing high school as white Carolinians and less than a third the chance of finishing college or entering a profession. Moreover, black Carolinians had the prospect of earning less than half as much as white Carolinians, were twice as likely to be unemployed or imprisoned, and could expect a shorter life span.

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• 668 Until the mid-twentieth century the only organization in South Carolina explicitly dedicated to racial advancement was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (the NAACP). At the time Septima Clark began teach-

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668 ing on Johns Island, the first chapters of the NAACP were being organized in South Carolina. By 1920 there were more than a thousand members in chapters around the state.

But the NAACP was an extremely cautious organization in those early decades. It took as its mission the improvement of black life within the segregated system rather than challenging the state's official racism. Unfortunately, its cautious approach enhanced the white stereotype that blacks were "contented." When the South Carolina Conference of the NAACP was formed in 1920, however, a shift occurred from "uplift" to a quest for equality. Three major legal cases—the teachers' salary equalization suit, the challenge to the all-white Democratic primary, and the suit for admission to the law school of the University of South Carolina—advanced the cause in the 1940s. When *Briggs v. Elliott*, the Clarendon County school case, was filed in 1950, the NAACP legal staff decided to launch a direct attack against public school segregation. *Briggs v. Elliott* was the only case from the Deep South in the package of cases upon which the United States Supreme Court, in a historic decision on May 17, 1954, declared segregated public schools inherently unequal. After the NAACP's aggressive legal action, the South Carolina legislature passed a law in 1955 forbidding any city or state employee to belong to the NAACP. Septima Clark, a long-time member of the organization, was dismissed from her elementary school teaching position. Although she had taught in the Charleston County school system for almost forty years, the Charleston County School Board denied her retirement pay when she was fired. She then took a job with Highlander Folk School.

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875 In 1957, with training and assistance from Highlander Folk School, Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins began the first citizenship education school on Johns Island. They chose Bernice Robinson to be the first teacher. The classes did not merely stick to reading and writing for voter registration but also discussed the power that people could have if they know how government is organized. The islanders became aware of their rights as citizens and learned ways to achieve them. By 1960

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her version, "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize," to young civil rights workers at conferences in 1960. Thus it was that the Johns Island version of this spiritual became one of the great inspirational theme songs of the civil rights movement.

In 1961, prompted by the rapid growth of citizenship schools to other islands and the Charleston area, Septima Clark and Bernice Robinson developed the first program to train citizenship school teachers. This curriculum spread throughout the South as participants came from the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Thousands of teachers were trained. Such community leaders as Fannie Lou Hamer in Mississippi and Hosea Williams in Georgia went home to teach and to organize voter registration campaigns. They simply refused to put up with segregation anymore. By 1962, when the major civil rights groups turned their attention to voter registration, they were able to use the approach pioneered in the citizenship schools between 1957 and 1961 because by then it was clear that the approach worked. Thus the citizenship schools on Johns Island were the foundation for the voting rights movement and played a major role in the overthrow of Jim Crow.

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SINCE 1959 Guy had spent part of each year working with the citizenship school on Johns Island. In 1961 Guy married Candie Anderson; and in 1963 they moved to Johns Island with their small son, Evan. During the next two years they shared in the life and fellowship of the black community around Moving Star Hall. Their purpose was to help preserve some of the older black folk culture on the island by bringing honor and recognition to it. As Guy wrote to Pete Seeger in 1965, "These days, you can go to any one of the major folk festivals at Berkeley, UCLA, Chicago, Philadelphia, or Newport and see some of the finest folk talent in the country. But the communities from which these people come have been neglected. Leadbelly and his music are forgotten in Shreveport, Louisiana. I'm hoping our work on Johns Island (South Carolina) will provide an example of what can be done in other areas. It would be a shame to let this music die at the roots." To that end Guy and Candie

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 cation and voter registration. The man who organized the Progressive Club was Esau Jenkins, who was born and raised on Johns Island and became one of the most effective grass roots leaders in the South. It was Esau who first conceived the Citizenship School Program, which the Reverend Martin Luther King's organization later administered throughout the South. The remarkable story of Esau's life and his efforts to bring progress to Johns Island is told in chapter 6. At that time it was not so clear how important the spread of the Citizenship School Program across the South was to be. A chapter has been added to trace the history of the program in the 1950s and its subsequent impact on the civil rights movement.

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 Esau Jenkins died in 1972, and his wisdom and understanding, his fighting spirit, are missed by all. In December 1987, while we were interviewing people for the update to this book, Septima Clark also died. A teacher all her life, she taught on Johns Island in 1916 as a teenager. She was part of the Charleston County school system until 1956, when she was fired for belonging to the NAACP. She then went to work for the Highlander Folk School and became supervisor of the literacy program in the sea islands. At the time of her death, she was recognized nationally as an educator and civil rights leader.

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 In 1988 many of the families who told their stories in the early 1960s still live on Johns Island. Most of the older people have passed on, of course, and children have grown and married and have children of their own. The younger generation has received more education, sometimes quite sophisticated skills. Gerald Mackey is a good example. At the end of chapter 6 he can be seen as a teenager riding in the back of a truck on the way to work in the fields. Today he is an evaluator of teachers for the school system and a candidate for his doctorate. Esau's children became teachers, community workers, a lawyer, the administrator of a major health care delivery system on Johns Island.

Bill Saunders told us in 1965 that had he been born white, he might have accomplished something. He nevertheless has gone on to accomplish a

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159 good deal. He founded the Committee on Better
 (668) Racial Assurance (COBRA), a multi-issue commu-
 nity organization in Charleston also serving the sea
 islands. He has been chairman of the Charleston
 County Democratic party. He ran for state senate
 and received support in both the black and white
 communities. He is the owner of WPAL, a vital
 radio station in Charleston that consistently ad-
 dresses social issues as well as responds to the mu-
 sical tastes of the community. He was the principal
 mediator in the major civil rights campaign of the
 Charleston area—a strike of hospital workers in
 the late 1960s.

464 The job situation on Johns Island has im-
 proved slightly. In the 1960s all young people who
 finished high school left the area to find work.
 (489) Now, with improved transportation, it is possible
 for them to work in Charleston and still live on the
 island. The resort developments and the new small
 (241) businesses offer some employment, but farming,
 (198) long a mainstay in the island economy, is steadily
 declining. Farmland is now the prime target of de-
 311 velopers. But the people who have stayed on Johns
 433 Island have held onto a firm determination to live
 in their traditional community, and many of their
 hopes and dreams are still in place.

199 Development on Johns Island has taken two
 199 forms. Tourist development, spreading rapidly all
 along the coastal islands south of Washington,
 D.C., is a threat to the indigenous population on
 Johns Island. Kiawah and Seabrook, accessible
 only by driving across Johns Island, are full-fledged
 resort communities with condominiums, hotels
 and inns, shops and boutiques, and large private
 homes. Both are entered by passing through a se-
 curity checkpoint. Viewed initially as offering some
 economic and social benefits to island residents,
 both have been disappointing, catering to wealthy
 visitors from outside the region and offering only
 menial and limited employment. Wadmalaw Is-
 land, just across the Esau Jenkins Memorial Bridge
 from Johns Island, is in the throws of plans for de-
 velopment. An island committee made up of black
 and white landowners has been meeting regularly
 to design their own development plan that may

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 563 the schools were integrated, and St. Johns, previously all white, became the high school for all island youngsters. Many white parents subsequently put their children into a private academy, but for the youth of the black community, St. Johns High offered new hope. Yet today the school system is still lacking. A desegregation suit against the county school system has been in federal court for six years. Brought by the Justice Department with the NAACP, it charges the Charleston County School Board with maintaining segregation and providing inadequate educational opportunities for minority students.

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178 FOR NEARLY THIRTY YEARS two things have greatly impressed us about Johns Island. One is the continuing process of community education and struggle that enables local people to maintain some measure of control over their institutions and their lives. The other is the rich Afro-American cultural life on the islands. Given the pressures of development and economic survival, the need to address contemporary issues with sophisticated tactics, what will survive of the older sea island culture? Public interest has certainly grown in coastal culture, language, and history on both a popular and scholarly level. In addition, there have also been patterns of change in the community and the cultural choices made by island people.

545 The Moving Star Hall Singers, a family group who began traveling nationally when we lived on Johns Island, continues to travel and to share religious music, folktales, children's game songs, and life experiences in a range of settings. They are widely recognized as outstanding carriers of the oldest layer of Afro-American cultural expression in the United States. In more recent years they have been invited to perform in local situations, including the Spoleto Festival held annually in Charleston. In the summer of 1988 they performed at a national festival of Afro-American arts in Atlanta.

159 In 1984 Mrs. Janie Hunter received a National Heritage Fellowship from the National Endowment.
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Mr. Abraham Jenkins

**I'LL GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE OF PEOPLE
WHO REALLY MADE A DIFFERENCE
IN THESE ISLANDS**

554 Sometimes people don't recognize the hard work of people behind the scenes. I'll give you an example of people who really made a difference in these islands. Mrs. Alleen Brewer Wood came to Johns Island in 1929. Her husband, Rev. Brewer, was the pastor of two churches on the island. She was quite a community person. She would help with anything that needed doing. (795) These were the days when people depended on root medicine and midwifery, what I call indirect health care. It was not the approved method of health care, but people had their own methods for taking care of problems. Mrs. Wood was around in that time when we were trying to get people to feel better about themselves, and trying to teach them about self-respect. She was one of the persons that we call the "grandmoms of the islands," instrumental in so many little things that you don't hear that much about. She helped lay down some of the foundation for the projects that came to Johns Island. Later on she taught the Citizenship School classes on Edisto.

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793 Rev. McKinley Washington was one of those people that my daddy really relied on. He would call him up every Sunday morning before church and talk over with him the things he would like to see discussed in church—voter registration or whatever the issue was. He was just a young minister in those days, right out of school. He started the NAACP here. And later they formed a group from the Presbyterian church called the Self-Development of People to deal with the needs of people on Edisto. They bought an old school building (used to be the school for the white kids) and used it as a community building. (668) (794)

(798) When Esau was working through the Charleston Citizens' Committee, which took in all of the sea islands, Rev. Washington was his connection for Edisto and Yonges islands. People were always reluctant about how fast to move to bring about change. They will go with you for awhile, but then if it looks like you're not giving up, some will want to put the brakes on. So Esau had to have people that would keep that motivation going. And McKinley was one of those people. He's a real good speaker. His voice is deep and heavy, and when he starts preaching, you have to listen to him. So my daddy used him as an inspirator.

When Rev. Willis Goodwin came to Johns Island to pastor in 1966, people just looked on the ministry as church on Sunday. When Rev. Goodwin got here he changed all that. His ministry was seven days per week. He would go around to the people who were sick or were in need—and everybody was in

4: Carawan & Carawan B,2-5 (1959-1988) 1989
 NN23 Sea Islanders NH23
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Mr. William Saunders

**I'M PRETTY BITTER ABOUT THINGS
 LIKE THAT**

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I've been thinking about Mrs. Septima Clark. Here's a person who got fired from a system after teaching over thirty years for belonging to an organization that she would not denounce (NAACP). They refused to give her even her retirement. That same system, that same power base, allows her fifteen, twenty years later to be on the school board. That same power base turns around later on and says, "You can have your retirement." And that same power base is saying, the mayor is saying, the governor is saying, "This woman is a hero." There's something wrong with that!

Those power brokers can say, "At eighty years old we can make you a hero; we can line your wall with plaques; because you're no more threat to us." And the reason we can make you a hero is that now we got to look out for Bill Saunders and them that is coming along. And they're the ones that's going to give us some trouble. And as new people come along, then some of us become worthless, so we get plaques and stuff.

When the superintendent of the school system for the state can say, on the morning that Mrs. Clark dies, that there's nothing wrong with our school system, we got a perfect school system, there's no bias, there's no problem, and that will go. And then the judge turns around and says yes, the only problem is poverty and it will take fifty to a hundred years to straighten that out, and then they say Mrs. Clark is a hero. The mayor says, "There's nobody like her. She never got loud, she never raised her voice, she's sweet, and she got things done. We loved her." I'm pretty bitter about things like that.



4: Carawan & Carawan B,2-5 (1959-1988) 1989
 NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
 South Carolina
 Johns Island

Mrs. Alice Wine

KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE PRIZE

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CHORUS

Hold on member, hold on, um, Keep your eyes on that prize, hold

VERSE

on. Some time I up, some time I down, Keep your

CHORUS

eyes on that prize, hold on. Hold on, my dear sis-ter, hold

on. Lord, Keep your eyes on that prize, hold on.

(ALTERNATE CHORUS)

Hold on, won't you hold on, Keep your

eyes on that prize, hold on.

♩ = 54 (represents a composite tempo)

(CHORUS)
 Hold on, member, hold on,
 Keep your eyes on that prize, hold on.

(VERSE)
 Sometime I up, sometime I down,
 Keep your eyes on that prize, hold on.

(CHORUS)
 Hold on, my dear sister, hold on, Lord,
 Keep your eyes on that prize, hold on.

This song has an interesting history. When Guy first spent time on Johns Island and sang a version of "Keep Your Hand on the Plow," which he had learned from Pete Seeger in the 1950s, Mrs. Wine said, "Oh, I know a different echo to that," and sang, "Keep your eyes on the prize." Guy later passed these words on to the young people then involved in the civil rights movement. Those words became the ones sung all across the South as part of the movement.

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4: Caravan & Caravan B,2-5 (1959-1988) 1989
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the literacy test and become registered voters. Some had organized their community for discussions of civic issues and voter registration campaigns. Later, as on Johns Island, they would run for public office and provide leadership in the emerging civil rights movement.

In 1981 the citizenship school program was transferred from Highlander to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In the meantime Septima Clark and Bernice Robinson had developed a residential program for training volunteers who wanted to be citizenship school teachers.

Before becoming the educational arm of the SCLC, the number of teachers trained were counted in the hundreds, but after the transfer, Septima Clark reported that they were counted in the thousands. More impressive than these figures was the vitality of the educational process which set in motion a liberating force that gave dignity and collective power to thousands of black people throughout the South.

The people of Johns Island deserve tribute for the role they played in the origin and development of a citizenship/literacy movement that became a vital part of the civil rights movement and has achieved international recognition. Special tribute is due to the first pioneer citizenship school, created by a teacher who had never taught before and her students who had never been to school, and to the coordinator Septima Clark and especially to Esau Jenkins whose idea it was in the first place.

4: Carawan & Carawan B,2-5 (1959-1988) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Johns Island

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(664) We always told the teachers that if there wasn't an organization in their community, organize that first class into a community organization so that they would meet once a month and could get information about what was going on in their community, what they needed to do, how they needed to pressure their local government about certain things, what they could get from the federal government. And to always try to bring someone in who had some information in those fields, so that it would be a continuing, educating process.

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668 In the summer of 1961 the program was transferred to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. SCLC continued to do what we had started to do when we had the program at Highlander and that was have organizations send representation to them for a one-week workshop—for teacher training. Then they would go back into their areas. They came from Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi.

Mrs. Septima Clark

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(665) THE CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS WERE THE BASE
ON WHICH THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
WAS BUILT

We were trying to make teachers out of people who could barely read and write. But they could teach. The people who left these training sessions went home to teach and to work in voter registration drives. They went home, and they didn't take it anymore. They started their own citizenship classes, discussing the problems in their own towns. "How come the pavement stops where the black section begins?" Asking questions like that, and then knowing who to go to to talk about that or where to protest it.

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668 One time I heard Andy Young say that the citizenship schools were the base on which the whole civil rights movement was built. And that's probably very much true.

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185 It's true because the citizenship schools made people aware of the political situation in their area. We recruited the wise leaders of their communities, like Fannie Lou Hamer in Mississippi. Hosea Williams started out as a citizenship school supervisor. The citizenship school classes formed the grassroot basis of new statewide political organizations in South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi. From one end of the South to the other, if you look at the black elected officials and the political leaders, you find people who had their first involvement in the training program of the citizenship school.

It was 1962 before the major civil rights groups were ready to do something about voter registration. But we had developed the ideas of the citizenship schools between 1957 and 1961. So all the civil rights groups could use our kind of approach because by then we knew it worked.

AFTERWORD

• 668 IN 1961 I was one of the students driven from Albany, Georgia, to Dorchester Center in McIntosh, Georgia, for the first Citizenship Education Training School operated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Andrew Young had come to Albany to describe the program, which was based on the one Septima Clark, Bernice Robinson, and Esau Jenkins had initiated on Johns Island. Many of us who made up the first class had been suspended from Albany State College for participating in demonstrations and getting arrested. The demonstrations were in support of students who had been arrested after they attempted to buy tickets from the "white only" window of the Trailways bus depot. The demonstrations and increasing arrests quickly developed into a full-blown local movement. The idea of becoming trained to run schools to teach people to register and vote seemed a worthwhile activity to us and to the leaders of the local movement.

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When we arrived at Dorchester, we met our teachers—Dorothy Cotton, who came from Petersburg, Virginia, to work with SCLC; Septima Clark, who lost her job as a teacher in Charleston because of her membership in the NAACP and her work with Highlander; and Bernice Robinson, who was the first teacher of the citizenship school on Johns Island. In the classes at Dorchester we learned about the political structure of our communities as well as how to teach people to read and write. At that time I had never heard of precinct meetings and knew nothing about the local and state party systems, even though I had done well in my civics and government classes in school. But those classes had nothing to do with what I knew about Georgia. The classes that Septima Clark, Bernice Robinson, and Dorothy Cotton taught were eye-openers to a new way of looking at our community. For the next ten years, the citizenship school program trained grass roots leaders as they rose to action in the growing civil rights movement throughout the South.

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At Dorchester, Cordell Reagon, a SNCC field

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secretary and native of the Nashville sit-ins, brought some of us together and told us that a white folk singer was coming to lead us in songs. I was also told that, though he might sound different, we were not to laugh when he sang because he was a true friend of the movement and had been tested and tried during the sit-ins in Nashville. Well, the singer was Guy Carawan, who immediately pulled out his guitar and began to play and sing. I remember hearing for the first time songs such as "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?," "Wasn't That a Time!," and hearing the name of Pete Seeger and the Weavers. I remember experiencing no feelings for the soft, flowing ballad style of "Flowers." But when Guy sang "Ol' Blue," he hit familiar territory. None of us had heard the song, but we could feel the story. We requested it over and over again.

Guy spent the rest of the week with us and accompanied us on our freedom songs. He later showed up again and again in mass meetings all over the South and asked me to help him organize several workshops that brought songleaders from the movement together with traditional singers such as Doc Reese from Texas and the Georgia Sea Island Singers from St. Simons Island with singers and song organizers from the topical and folk song revival from the North. Len Chandler, Alan Lomax, Theo Bikel, Phil Ochs, and Tom Paxton were new names we learned during this time.

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Then in December 1964 Guy and his wife, Candie, invited us, the Freedom Singers from Atlanta, to a festival on Johns Island. There we met Esau Jenkins, who took us to the Progressive Club and a singing. The Georgia Sea Island Singers were there and I heard the Moving Star Hall Singers for the first time. I had never heard or seen this song style before. Led by Janie Hunter and Benjamin Bligen, the singing sounded ancient and the shouting and rhythms more complex than anything I had ever attempted myself.

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I will never forget the waves of sounds sweeping into each response after a call by Benjie, or

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Today Mrs. Russell talks about not being able to visit her old crabbing spot; she is kept from her homeplace by guards and gates. Ms. Elaine Jenkins straddles the old and new ways trying to show people how not to lose their land. Bill Saunders talks about development and change in a way that is based on his dreams for the indigenous people of the island community; the new developers, on the contrary, want to keep the people off the new vacation spots unless they are employed there, usually in menial jobs.

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Today's Sea Island Comprehensive Health Care Corporation grew out of the Rural Mission, Inc., and the Progressive Club, begun by Esau Jenkins and nurtured by those who struggled with him to bring about change. Their efforts gave much to the local community and to the larger movement. This was the home of the first citizenship education class; "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize, Hold On" passed from Alice Wine to Guy Carawan to the Nashville sit-ins to movement communities throughout the South.

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To walk through this book again is to walk through time. The first edition of the book introduced us to the old songs and the Moving Star Hall and its worship tradition. It described the islanders' yearnings and planning for change. The Carawans were beginning to share the music and culture of this community through folk festivals and programs throughout the nation. In this first book one feels the storm of change in the sound of a unique nineteenth-century black American voice.

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And now we have this new edition of the book loaded with some of the same voices speaking through yet another decade; and we see and hear the voices and concerns of the children who walk and seek to extend their roads. We see the outsiders with intentions that have nothing to do with the survival of the communities they found as they moved into the islands. The questions and fears are for the youth and their future. Their voices are heard only as whispers in the minds and hearts of their parents. The questions are: Will they continue? And how and where and what of this rich legacy will they harvest to pass on?

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Bernice Johnson Reagon